

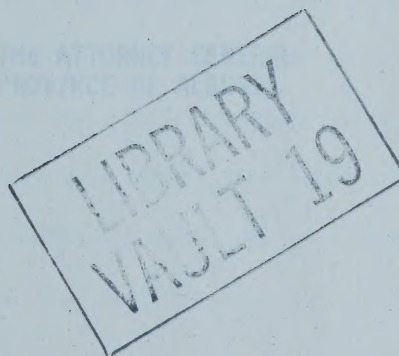
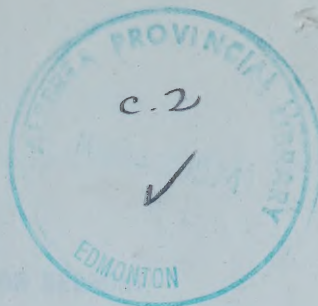
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After Bowden or Belmont: a Follow-Up Study
of Releasees of Two Correctional Institutions 2



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AFTER BOWDEN OR BELMONT

(A Follow-Up Study of Releasees of
Two Correctional Institutions)

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AFTER BOWDEN OR BELMONT

(A Follow-Up Study of Releasees of Two Correctional Institutions)

PREPARED FOR

THE DEPARTMENT OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
GOVERNMENT OF THE PROVINCE OF ALBERTA

BY

L.W. DOWNEY RESEARCH ASSOCIATES LTD.
Edmonton, Alberta, 1973.



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AFTER BOWDEN OR BELMONT

(A Follow-Up Study of Releasees of Two Correctional Institutions)

FOREWORD

The study reported here was undertaken at the request of the Department of the Attorney General, the Government of the Province of Alberta.

The object of the study was to seek out and interview as many as possible of the 1971 releasees of the Bowden Correctional Institution and the Belmont Rehabilitation Centre. The purpose was to glean insights into the effectiveness of the treatment programs used by these institutions in the rehabilitation of offenders.

Most of the findings are factual -- inasmuch as they have to do with recidivism, employment, use of skills acquired while incarcerated, and so on. Some, however, are attitudinal -- inasmuch as they deal with ex-inmates' opinions regarding the strengths and weaknesses of the rehabilitation programs.

It should be carefully noted that no attempt was made to corroborate the opinions of individuals through an examination of the treatment programs themselves. This was not a study of the institutions; it was simply a follow-up study of individuals.

Most of the field work was conducted by J.L. Downey and R. Jackson, who organized the team of searchers and interviewers. Most of the interpretive work and the preparation of the first draft of the report was done by M. Harvey.

Full cooperation was received from Mr. J. Lee of the Corrections Branch and from the Superintendents of the two institutions.

To these and others, including the ex-inmates who agreed to be interviewed, I express appreciation.

L.W. DOWNEY
July, 1973

AFTER BOWDEN OR BELMONT

(A Follow-Up Study of Releasees of Two Correctional Institutions)

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AFTER BOWDEN OR BELMONT

(A Follow-Up Study of Releasees of Two Correctional Institutions)

1.

INTRODUCTION

Traditionally, the programs provided by correctional institutions have been largely punitive and custodial in orientation -- the object being to punish the offender for past crimes and to protect society from the crimes that he might have the potential to commit were he free.

More recently, however, correctional institutions have tended to adopt a third orientation -- namely rehabilitation. The object of rehabilitation programs is to readjust the offender so that, upon release, he may be prepared to re-enter society as a normally-functioning citizen.

Over the past several years, two of Alberta's minimum security correctional institutions, Bowden and Belmont, have provided rather special and somewhat unique programs for the rehabilitation of their inmates. In comparison with traditional correctional programs, these new rehabilitative programs have been costly. The per inmate daily costs of the two institutions have been almost double those of the Fort Saskatchewan Correctional Institution, for example, and about triple those of the typical U.S. prison.

So the inevitable question has been asked: Have these new programs made a difference? Have they paid off in terms of increased effectiveness in the rehabilitation of offenders?

That question provided the focus of the study to be reported here. The study may be seen, in part, as an evaluation of these rehabilitation programs, for it focuses upon the ultimate criterion of effectiveness -- namely the extent to which inmates who are exposed to the programs do or do not return to society as normally functioning citizens.

It must be emphasized, however, that this was not an evaluation of the programs, themselves. It was merely a follow-up of the graduates of the programs.

Specifically, the study addressed the following questions:

- i. Do the occupational and educational programs provided in these correctional institutions improve inmates' employability after release? Do trainees, upon release, use the skills acquired in their rehabilitation programs? If not, why not?
- ii. Do these rehabilitation programs reduce the likelihood of re-incarceration? Do they facilitate reentry into society?
- iii. Hence, what can be said about the effectiveness of these programs as rehabilitative treatments?

II.

BACKGROUND

1. PROGRAMS

The Bowden Correctional Institution provides academic, apprenticeship, and work experience programs. The academic programs include both upgrading and correspondence courses. The apprenticeship programs include a variety of fields such as carpentry, motor mechanics, auto body, welding, cooking, printing, barbering, and so on, and involve time commitments ranging from four years to eight months. The work experience programs include a variety of unskilled laboring jobs.

Belmont Rehabilitation Centre provides treatment programs for alcoholics, work party programs, and day parole programs. Inmates may graduate from the alcoholic treatment program to one of the others or may, in fact, be involved in more than one program at one time.

2. THE SAMPLE

The population selected for this study included all individuals released from the two institutions during the 1971 calendar year. Bowden released 387 and Belmont 466, for a total of 853.

The sampling technique adopted was not a random one (except for certain specific purposes to be noted later) but rather an iterative one. There were two reasons for adopting this approach: first, the "offender population" is a shifting one, its members moving in and out of prison and from place to place

at frequent intervals, which makes it difficult to employ normal sampling techniques; and second, our purpose was to "account for", in one way or another, all members of the target population.

This iterative process proceeded through the following stages:

- Step One: Obtain lists of 1971 releasees from Bowden and Belmont. Total: $387 + 466 = 853$
- Step Two: Obtain information from the R.C.M.P. central data bank on as many of these as possible.
Totals: Bowden, 358 + Belmont, 244 = 602
- Step Three: Conduct a search to account for as many as possible of the 602.
(Results of the search are reported in the analysis)
- Step Four: Interview as many of those found as are willing to be interviewed.
Totals interviewed: Bowden, 56 + Belmont, 35 = 91.

3. THE METHODS

Three criteria of effectiveness were established: (1) rate of recidivism; (2) rate of employment and/or continuing education in the trade studied in the rehabilitation program; and (3) rate of employment in jobs unrelated to training.

Data provided by the federal data bank on approximately 65% of the population were used to calculate recidivism rates. These rates were compared with those of other institutions.

In the calculation of recidivism rates, individuals were classified as recidivist if the April, 1973 record indicated one or more convictions and sentences subsequent to the 1971 release. Hence, releasees had only from 14 to 26 months to become reconvicted in order to be classified as recidivist in this study. This probably yielded an underestimation of actual or ultimate recidivism rates.

In our analysis of various correlates of recidivism, previous prison experiences were recorded in terms of sentence length, not time actually spent in prison. Suspended sentences were not counted. The longest of any concurrent sentences were used. Since few sentences are fully served, this method likely yielded an overestimation of actual prison experiences.

Statistical analysis of interview data were not very illuminating or satisfying because of the smallness of the sample and the unavoidable sample bias.

These and other shortcomings in our sampling and methods have been carefully noted in our interpretations of the findings.

III.

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

A. BOWDEN

1. Disposition of the Population

Various follow-up activities and analyses yielded the following information on the total population of releasees.

Total number released, Jan. 1 to Dec. 31, 1971.....387

Number reported from RCMP, April 1973.....358

Average age, April 1973.....24.1 years

Recidivates to April 1973 (est. at 55%).....197 (see note
below)

Incarcerated at April 1973.....100 (27.9%)

Number of searches March-July, 1973.....258

Left Province..... 42 (16.3%)

Refused Interview..... 6 (2.3%)

Reservation Indians..... 30 (11.6%)

Deceased..... 5 (2.0%)

Non-traceable..... 119 (46.1%)

Interviewed..... 56 (21.7%)

Total 258

Note: The analyses reported in this section were conducted on a sample of 300 of those reported by the RCMP. Of the 300, 165 had recidivated for a rate of 55%.

2. Recidivism

As indicated above, fully 55% of the sample had recidivated between release and April 1973, in a period of 14 to 26 months -- depending upon the date of the individual's release in 1971.

It was noted, however, that many of these individuals were, in 1971, serving second, third, fourth, and even fifth terms. So we asked: Is there any relationship between previous prison experiences and patterns of recidivism? As indicated in Table 1, the answer appears to be negative.

Table 1.

Recidivism and Previous Prison Experience			
Prison Experience Prior to 1971	Recidivated	Not Recidivated	Totals
Less than 5% of age	84*	75*	159
More than 5% of age	81*	60*	141
Totals	165	135	300

*Non-significant associations

It was noted, also, that 52 (98.8%) of the 56 persons interviewed had been involved in educational programs while in Bowden, but that only 23 (44.2%) had completed. So we asked: Is there any relationship between course completion and recidivism? As indicated in Table 2, the answer again appears to be negative.

Table 2.

Recidivism and Course Completion			
Status	Completed	Not Completed	Totals
Recidivated	4*	5*	9
Not Recidivated	19*	24*	43
Totals	23	29	52

*Non-significant association

It should be noted that the sample used in the above table includes only the interview sample -- only the out-of-jail, willing-to-be-interviewed segment of the total sample. Hence, one might expect that if the training-rehabilitation programs were to have an impact on any segment of the sample, it would be on this one. But such does not appear to be the case.

3. Employment

Among the out-of-jail, interview sample, the relationship between course completion and employment did appear to be significant. Fully 36% who had not completed were unemployed, while only 13% of those who had completed were unemployed. (See Table 3)

Table 3.

Employment and Course Completion			
Employment	Completed	Not Completed	Totals
Yes	20*	18*	38
No	3*	11*	14
Totals	23	29	52

*Significant association (.05)

Interestingly, though course completion did seem to correlate significantly with employment, there was very, very little relationship between the type of training taken and the type of subsequent employment. Of the 38 employed releasees, only 3 (one in barbering, one in welding, and one in auto body) were using the specific training they had taken. This seems to suggest that course completion may be more a manifestation of a work ethic or an attitude toward achievement than a specific qualification for a specific job.

B. BELMONT

1. Disposition of the Population

Total number released, Jan. 1 to Dec. 31, 1971.....	466
Number reported from RCMP, April 1973.....	244
Average age, April 1973.....	32.1 years
Recidivates to April 1973 (est. at 74.1%)...181 (see Note below)	
Incarcerated, April 1973.....	98 (36.1%)
Number of Searches, March-July, 1973.....	146
Left Province.....	31 (21.2%)
Refused Interview.....	4 (2.7%)
Reservation Indians.....	39 (26.7%)
Deceased.....	4 (2.7%)
Non-traceable.....	33 (22.6%)
Interviewed.....	35 (24 %)

Total 146

Note: The analyses reported in this section were conducted on a sample of 120 of the 244 reported by the RCMP. Of the 120, 74.1% recidivated.

2. Recidivism

While at Belmont, inmates were assigned to alcohol treatment programs, work programs, day parole programs, or a combination of these.

To investigate patterns of recidivism, a random sample was taken of 120 (approximately 50%) of the total RCMP report sample. Results are summarized in Table 4.

Table 4.

Belmont: Patterns of Recidivism			
Disposition of Inmates		Patterns of Recidivism	
Status	Numbers	Numbers	Rates
Released, sentence satisfied	86 (71%)	61	70%
Transferred to the Fort	17 (14%)	15	88%
Full Parole	17 (14%)	13	76%
Totals & Averages	120	89	74.1%

Many of Belmont's inmates are persons who are convicted of alcohol-related crimes. And it is usually assumed that alcoholism requires extended periods of treatment before complete rehabilitation can be hoped for. So we asked: Is there any relationship between length of sentence (treatment) and patterns of recidivism? As indicated in Table 5, the answer appears to be negative.

Table 5.

Recidivism and Length of Sentence				
Recidivated	Length of Sentence			Totals
	Less than 1 mo.	1-2 mos.	More than 2 mos.	
Yes	27*	34*	25*	86
No	3*	15*	12*	30
Totals	30	49	37	116

*Non-significant (.05)

3. Employment

Personal interviews were held with 35 of the ex-inmates. Of these 27 (77%) were either employed or attending school; eight (23%) were unemployed.

IV.

SOME CASE ANALYSES

As indicated, our objective in this study was to find or otherwise account for all of the inmates released from Bowden and Belmont during the 1971 calendar year.

Some releasees could be found but, for obvious reasons, refused to be questioned; their wishes were respected. Others could be located but were unavailable for questioning; information on some of these was obtained through third parties. Still others were found to have moved from the Province; no effort was made to contact them, directly. But still others (91 in number) were found and agreed to be interviewed; indeed, some of them were interviewed several times -- not only about themselves-- but also about other ex-inmates.

A few of these cases are presented here. They provide useful insights into the sub-culture in which the subjects of this study live. (The stories are as told by the subjects; they have not been corroborated.)

Case 1: *Bill -- Age 18*

Bill spent the winter and early spring of 1973 loafing around and looking for work in a small town in central Alberta.

But he could find no work. For the only job skill he had was in cooking. And there were no jobs for cooks in this particular small town.

Furthermore, Bill was known as a "con" and a parolee. During the previous four years, he had been in and out of correctional institutions five times -- the last time for automobile theft (as he put it, for "borrowing" a

car while he was high on drugs).

When he was released on parole it was the middle of winter. And among the conditions of his parole were: first, that he not leave the small town which he called home; and second, that he find employment within 60 days.

Though Bill tried (he thought) to observe the conditions of his parole, he knew he could neither find work nor escape the environment which contributed to his delinquency, without breaking away from his old home town.

So he suspected that a sixth term in prison was virtually inevitable.

And it was. He was re-incarcerated in the early summer for violation of parole.

Case 2: George - Age 21

George was still a teenager when he became involved in a street brawl and struck his opponent so hard that he fell to the curb and died of injuries.

George was charged with murder and placed in solitary confinement. Neither he nor his family could afford a lawyer, so his case was turned over to legal aid.

His case dragged on, with him in solitary, for six months as his legal aid lawyers requested remand after remand -- to give them time to prepare their defence.

Finally, he was convicted of manslaughter and sent to Bowden. At that point, he notes, "life became bearable again."

George applied for and was granted permission to enrol in a vocational program of his own choice. And he began to look forward to the day when he might be paroled and leave the Institution with a trade.

But things went wrong. He had difficulty getting along with his instructor; in fact, he was finally denied the privilege of continuing his program. The rules and regimentation of prison life "got to" him; as a result

he was in trouble with officials constantly.

Finally, he was released, on parole. But he had not completed his occupational program because (he claims) of inter-personal difficulties with his instructors.

He is now temporarily employed -- but in a trade completely unrelated to his incomplete training. Nevertheless, he is hopeful that he may be able to hang onto his job and avoid re-incarceration for parole violation.

Case 3: Pete -- Age 21

Pete had not completed high school when he was first sentenced to Spy Hill. So he applied for and was granted a transfer to Bowden -- presumably to complete his high school education.

But when he entered Bowden, he discovered that inmates could only take academic programs through correspondence, and only at the rate of two courses at a time.

(The two-course limit is a regulation of the Correspondence Branch of the Department of Education. It is calculated to impose realistic ambitions upon working persons who wish to improve their educational qualifications on a part-time basis.)

Pete found that he could handle his two courses in a fraction of the time he had available. He became frustrated while he awaited returns from his correspondence lessons.

Ultimately he became completely bored. And he concluded that the so-called "opportunity" he was given to transfer to an educationally-oriented institution did not amount to much of an opportunity after all.

Case 4: Tom -- Age 22

When he was 19, Tom was convicted of "possession of drugs for the purpose of trafficking" and sentenced to two years in Spy Hill.

While there he learned, via the prison grape vine, that one could apply through a selection committee for transfer to Bowden to pursue a trades program.

The grape vine also had it that life at Bowden was considerably easier than at Spy Hill and that parole was more easily obtained.

Tom was not the least bit interested in vocational education. If anything, he wanted to go on in academics, hopefully at the University.

Nevertheless, he applied for a transfer and set about to learn how one could con the Committee into believing that one were seriously interested in trade training.

Con them he did. He was transferred to Bowden and enrolled in a correspondence program. Finally, he was parolled.

Tom sums up his own case in these words: "Kids who are busted on dope charges feel they have done no wrong. But they know they have to put in their time. So they work all the angles to make life as tolerable as possible."

5. General

The following are some of the most frequently expressed comments on the system:

- i. The idea of education or training in prisons is a good one; but it doesn't work, because length of sentence is never the same as length of course -- and nothing is ever done about incomplete programs. When you are out, you're on your own. And no one is interested in your half finished training course.

- ii. *An ex-con always has more trouble finding a job than anyone else. So when employment is made a condition of parole, when no help is given in finding employment, and when you can't leave home to look, the chances of being sent back for parole violation are pretty good!*
- iii. *Very likely the people who started educational programs in prisons had the right idea. But the people they leave to run these programs haven't caught on. They still impose silly rules that get in the way of education and they still treat the inmates as though they didn't deserve education anyhow.*
- iv. *Drug offenders are a special case. None of them (at least not users) think they have done anything wrong. These so-called correctional programs are a laugh to them.*

V.

DISCUSSION AND INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

The typical measures of success of prison treatment as rehabilitation programs are: first, the rates of recidivism of releasees or parolees; and second, the ability of releasees to obtain and hold jobs.

For purposes of this study, a third measure was added: the relationship of the specific inmate training to his subsequent employment.

On all three of these criteria, we have found the stories of the ex-inmates of Bowden and Belmont to be less than encouraging. Rates of recidivism were high (55% and 74% respectively). Rates of unemployment were high (27% and 23%). And there appeared to be little if any relationship between the type of training taken and the type of job subsequently held.

What can be concluded from these apparently disappointing results?

1. Recidivism

Recidivism is a relatively difficult evaluative measure to use because of lack of coordinated data among local, provincial and federal institutions and because of a lack of precise definition.

Recidivism rates among our subjects appear to be high although accurate information for the general ex-inmate population is not available. Glaser (6) reviewed literature which suggested a wide range of rates and concluded that an average of about 30% was typical. Wilkins (13) suggested a rate of about 50% for released U.S. inmates. It was found that between 27 and 46% of one

juvenile delinquent sample had returned to jail within 6 months of release (8). But it was also found that only 8% of day parolees in a California study violated their parole (14). Thus, the 55% of the Bowden sample and the 74% of the Belmont sample seem to be comparatively high return rates.

Many factors, however, influence the recidivism rate, and comparison among samples must be made with great care. Recidivism has been shown to be high for young persons (6) and for those with a large number of previous convictions (13). In addition, a number of administrative conditions influence the statistics (6). If probation is common, only confirmed criminals go to jail and later recidivate in large numbers. If parole is common, many poor risk persons are freed and eventually return to jail. Where parole violations result in jail sentences the recidivism statistics are increased. Thus the data can depend as much upon the administrative environment as upon the characteristics of the inmates or upon the quality of the treatment program.

One would expect, as Wilkins (13) demonstrated, that previous prison records would predict future behavior to some degree. Yet this was not the case for those inmates released from Bowden in 1971. Perhaps it is the case that the Bowden educational program reduced the likelihood of experienced criminals returning to crime. But it could also be argued that inexperienced criminals were reinforced for their behavior.

Prison education programs have been shown by Glaser to reduce recidivism from 18% for non-students to 14% (6). Completion of a course at Bowden, however, did not alter the recidivism rate.

Race has been the subject of many penal studies and although Blacks, Indians and other minority groups are often over-represented in prisons and show certain personality trait differences (5), there is little difference in

the recidivism rates of Blacks and Whites in the U.S. (6). In the present study ethnic background data were not available although a few members of the sample could be so classified by name. Also, over 10% of the sample were reservation Indians. Recidivism rates among Indians would no doubt prove to be higher than for the white population, largely due to frequent violations of the Indian Act.

The length of the Belmont sentence, and hence the period of treatment, did not significantly influence the probability of recidivism. This observation is in keeping with an analysis of prison treatments (11) which concluded that longer jail sentences had little influence on recidivism, and if anything, increased its probability.

The high failure rate (76%) of Belmont inmates placed on full parole was partially corroborated by a study which found a significant association between probation failure and use of alcohol (7). That study of 791 California offenders found that 48% failed their probation period. Probation in general does not appear to reduce recidivism rates as compared with other treatment programs (11); rather recidivism appears to be a function of initial differences among the types of offenders and of administrative interpretation of violations. Thus the treatment program may be less important in determining failure rate than a host of sociological influences during the life of the inmate.

In summary, the recidivism rates among the Bowden and Belmont releasees appears high, yet it is difficult to appreciate the significance of the results. Comparison with other areas, other samples, and other programs may not be justified due to differences in age, race, educational background, employment opportunities upon release, counselling, many other components of the rehabilitation process, and even the methods of data collection and definition of terms.

2. Employment

Recidivism is the main measure of success of a rehabilitation program and it is usually assumed that the primary behavior affecting recidivism is the ability to get and hold a job. Most treatment programs focus on job application skills, work skills, the importance of work, and so on. Many studies (4, 14), including the President's Task Force on Prisoner Rehabilitation (2) have called for stepped-up employment programs. Thus the criterion of success seems to have become: does the ex-inmate obtain employment?

This assumption may not be entirely justified. Day parolees at Belmont are employed and receive employment counselling, yet 70% returned to prison in the two years following their release with sentence satisfied; and a California study found little difference in recidivism rates between inmates on a work-furlough (day parole) program and those kept in prison (12).

Employability is, however, a measure of social acceptability and may influence criminal tendencies. Those members of the Bowden sample who were employed at the time of interview had a significantly lower recidivism rate than those who were unemployed, although it is clear that the interview sample was not randomly selected and contained a strong bias towards lower recidivism rates. Zalba (14) concluded that a work-release (day parole) program was effective as a means of re-introducing an inmate to society.

The difficulties of obtaining employment include both the availability of employment and the inmate's characteristics. Alberta unemployment rates for both sexes in 1971 and 1972 were 4.7 and 4.5% respectively (Canada Manpower Office, pers. comm.). The unemployment rates of our sample (27% Bowden, 23% Belmont) were significantly higher than the Alberta rates and other studies have shown similar results. Byron (4) concluded that ex-inmates had an unemployment rate four times the civilian rate and that unemployment was higher among non-whites than whites. Although no ethnic data

are available here, some 92% of Treaty Indian males in the northern half of Alberta were found to be unemployed in 1969 (Indian Association of Alberta, pers. comm.). The probability of an Indian finding employment when released into such a job opportunity environment is not great.

There is a certain but unmeasurable prejudice by employers against job seekers with prison records. Perhaps of more importance is the inability and lack of confidence of many releasees to find and hold jobs (4). As Perry, et al (10) discovered, an inability to relate to society was a basic condition or cause of alcoholism and consequently was an obstacle to employment rehabilitation. Further, most chronic alcoholics had only held low skill jobs throughout their careers, suggesting that quality and meaningfulness of employment may be a factor influencing a person's desire to work.

In summary, it appears that ex-inmates experience high unemployment rates. This is due partially to an unfavorable job market in recent years and partially to social adjustment difficulties.

3. Training and Employment

Education is a major factor influencing employability and since many inmates have deficient education records the provision of upgrading or job training should enhance their future. Concrete evidence for this belief, however, is lacking, perhaps due to the difficulty of measuring the influence of education. Many attempts have been made to determine the impact of education upon socio-economic status, future earning power, employment level and so on. Results have been conflicting. Thus it is no surprise that the value of prison education programs is not known accurately. Glaser (6), for example, found that one-quarter of releasees had benefited employment-wise from training received in prison, while Byron (4) concluded that prison job training programs had little influence upon later employment.

In our sample, those taking upgrading or employment training at Bowden had a high level of unemployment when interviewed. Those completing their course, however, were significantly more likely to be employed than those who did not complete the program. Only 3 of 23 who had completed were unemployed. This finding cannot be considered conclusive evidence, however, since many factors can influence an inmate's ability to complete a program. His background education, drives, previous work experience, natural aptitudes and many others for which no data exist must be considered. The length of the inmate's sentence could be a factor since each course has a certain time requirement. Sentence lengths, however, were not different between those who completed and those who did not.

Only 3 of the 38 employed Bowden releasees were actually using the specific training they had received. Four others were employed at jobs related to the courses they had taken, and all others were working at unrelated jobs or were in school. Data on job opportunities in each specific trade, eg. welding, auto mechanic, are unavailable (Canada Manpower Office, pers. comm.) and it is thus impossible to demonstrate the relative difficulty of finding employment in one's chosen field. Nonetheless, job opportunities in general were not plentiful for these releasees.

Those inmates released from Belmont also had a high unemployment rate. Since each held a job during the day parole sentence, this may indicate considerable inability of these releasees to continue working once out of prison. Again, conflicting studies report that day parole is an effective means of integrating an inmate into society (14) and that such programs do not have much lasting influence (12;3).

VI.

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In summary, it must be concluded that the Bowden and Belmont rehabilitation programs have not been particularly successful -- in terms of their ultimate impacts upon offenders. Rates of recidivism are high (from 10 to 20% above the norm). Rates of unemployment are high (about 5 times those of society, in general). And job skills acquired in the rehabilitation programs are almost never put to use.

It must further be noted that these rehabilitation programs are costly. The daily cost of maintaining an inmate in Belmont is \$24.70 and in Bowden \$27.81 (1) -- approximately double that of the Fort Saskatchewan Correctional Institute (\$13.18) and almost triple that of the typical U.S. prison (\$5.00 - \$9.00) (9).

On the basis of these data, it may seem difficult to justify the continuation of the programs.

However, it must be recognized:

- i. that from a social and ethical point of view, the rehabilitative approach to corrections seems to be the only acceptable one; and
- ii. that even from a purely economic point of view, short-term investments in rehabilitation, if at all successful, are to be preferred over the longer-term costs of incarceration.

So we conclude, in spite of the disappointing nature of our evidence, that these rehabilitation programs should not be abandoned or curtailed. Rather, we believe, they should be strengthened and expanded.

The question is: how?

The evidence from other such experiments in rehabilitation suggests that anything less than full-scale concerted efforts are not likely to succeed. The Bowden and Belmont programs appear to provide sound bases for rehabilitation. But they certainly do not qualify as full-scale concerted efforts.

What is needed is support programs of various kinds, including the following:

1. Quality instruction, adequate equipment and library facilities and proper learning environments for all educational programs. (6)
2. Arrangements for program completion -- even when length of sentence and length of program do not coincide.
3. Job counselling and employment services. (4)
4. After-care services to assist in overcoming social problems. (3)
5. Extended counselling services for alcohol dependent ex-inmates. (10 & 11)

What is not needed is an environment of trivial discipline in which the inmate is discouraged from developing the sense of responsibility which is essential to smooth reentry into society.

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